

America

JULY 16, 1949

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

JUL 13 1949

Conservatives collapse in Canada

The greatest Liberal victory since Canada was confederated

A. VERNON THOMAS

Masterpiece in double-talk

Key to the interpretation of the communist scriptures

WILLIAM HARBISON

The Case of the Missing Underground

Father George's story rates a verdict of "not proven"

PAUL W. FACEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Terminiello case

EDITOR: Your first editorial on the Terminiello case (AM. 6/4, p. 307) discusses a question which actually involves two separate problems.

The first is whether an appellate court should review on appeal a matter to which no objection or exception was taken at the trial. The rule denying such review is for the practical administration of justice, and there is no reason why the rule cannot and should not be overlooked if any important interest is served in so doing.

Father Terminiello's appeal was from his specific trial and not from the general construction of the Chicago ordinance. Six of the nine Supreme Court Justices agreed that the jury charge was erroneous if objected to. Therefore, the Supreme Court had three choices: 1) ignore the erroneous charge and affirm the decision without mention of it, leaving the correctness or error of the charge a matter for uncertainty, possibly for many years to come; 2) affirm the decision, with opinions similar to those actually written, and state that there was no reversal because no objection had been taken; 3) reverse, as it did.

It seems to me that, under such circumstances, the Supreme Court took the better course.

Whether an appellate court should decide an appeal upon an issue or point of law not covered by the argument or briefs is an entirely different problem. In deciding a case in such a manner, a court may be overlooking some reason why the issue is wholly inapplicable and deprive counsel of his opportunity to present a rebutting argument. I feel that any court has the obligation to decide on the facts presented in accordance with all applicable law and not just the legal points raised by counsel. A litigant should not suffer because of the incompetence of his attorney; but neither should an attorney be deprived of his opportunity to present his client's case.

In an ordinary appeal, I believe that an appellate court should ask the attorneys to brief and argue any important omitted point which the court feels should be covered. This would be by way of reargument or some similar procedure. In the U. S. Supreme Court, because of our constitutional set-up, the Supreme Court should not over-rule State Courts on Federal issues not raised, and therefore the Supreme Court should send the case back to the State Court with instructions that the

omitted issue be argued there and a decision made before the Supreme Court reviews it.

Such procedure would take a little time but would avoid the furor caused by the Terminiello decision.

Syracuse, N. J. DONALD V. CARR

Correction

EDITOR: I am afraid that, in an outburst of rhetorical indignation against Catholic institutions of higher learning for their failure to honor Sigrid Undset during her long residence in this country, I was guilty of much too sweeping a generalization. Obviously, in this matter of honorary degrees, there were and are notable exceptions. Boston College's gallant gesture toward pianist Sanroma this past June and Canisius College's dowering Father James Keller with a doctorate in laws are cases in point.

Incidentally, in order to complete the obituary data in my recent article, it should be pointed out that the funeral accorded Catholic Sigrid Undset by Protestant Norway was that ultimate accolade, a state funeral. Evidently Lutheran Scandinavia is becoming urbane enough to acknowledge the lesson taught her by a witty French ambassador who, asked on his Swedish deathbed if he preferred to be sent to France to lie among his co-religionists, replied: "Please do not take the trouble. Just dig down deep enough in one of your own churchyards and you will find a sufficiency of them."

Kenmore, N. Y. CHARLES A. BRADY

Protest

EDITOR: I appreciate the recent marked copy of the magazine in which you refer to my studies on education for the Hoover Commission (AM. 6/4, p. 301). I do note that you refer to the "\$3.4 billion on various other forms of [Federal] aid to education." A careful reading of the Task Force report in Appendix P will indicate, I believe, that the \$3.4 billion is not Federal aid to education. The very large majority of these funds are a utilization of the schools and colleges of this country to promote the special interests of specialized agencies of the Government. Thus, it is my sincere belief that it can not be classified as general aid to education.

HOLLIS P. ALLEN

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Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, Calif.

(We did not classify the \$3.4 billions as "general" aid to education. Ed.)

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Lewis' three-day week

With 70 million tons of coal above ground—enough for two months—and wage negotiations with the operators proceeding inauspiciously, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, has decided that his followers are “able and willing” to work only three days a week. This was a very shrewd move on his part, and one which, privately at least, probably had the approval of some of the operators. The contract between the union and the industry expired at midnight on June 30. According to the traditional union policy—“no contract, no work”—the failure to sign a new contract should have been the signal for a strike. Mr. Lewis, however, had neglected until June 15 to give the employers the sixty-day notice of contract termination required by the Taft-Hartley Act, which means that he cannot call a strike legally before August 14. The omission was scarcely accidental. Unless they are obliged to do so for other reasons, unions do not call strikes when supply is far in excess of demand. There are good reasons to believe that Mr. Lewis wants no strike at this time, that, on the contrary, he is sincerely intent on stabilizing the industry to protect the economic gains he has won for the miners. His offer to the employers to join him in controlling production to protect jobs and earnings was honestly made. When the employers rejected the offer, partly because by accepting it they might expose themselves to an anti-trust suit, it was logical for Mr. Lewis to proceed unilaterally. Before condemning the head of the miners, one ought to remember that he is doing no more than big business frequently does to protect itself from losses. When the market shrinks, it prefers production cuts to price cuts, as the steel industry is demonstrating at the present time.

Who are “the people”?

Much of the success of communist propaganda comes from its prostitution of our democratic vocabulary. Everywhere the Party champions the cause of “the people.” But what do they mean by that term? Mao Tse-tung, Chinese communist leader, asked and answered this important question in his statement of June 30:

Who are “the people”? At present in China they are the working class, peasant class, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie.

This use of the political concept of “the people” to designate one or more social classes, to the exclusion of other classes, turns the clock of democratic progress back many generations. For centuries “the people” was a term of reproach used to designate the “lower classes,” “the mob,” “the populace.” In an out-of-the-way volume published in 1933, *The People and the Constitution*, Cecil S. Emden, a British author, undertook to trace the various uses of this much-abused expression. Since the time of the Reform Bill in England in 1832, popular government gradually matured to a point where the *New Oxford Dictionary* defined “the people” as “the whole body of enfranchised or qualified citizens, considered as the source of power; especially in a democratic State, the electorate.” That is the way we use the expression in our Con-

CURRENT COMMENT

stitution: “We, the people of the United States.” It is a political concept, including everyone, excluding no one. Democratic equality, the recognition that all human beings have the same essential human rights, requires this all-embracing use of the term. The Communists have re-introduced into what they call “democracy” the idea of a privileged class, and they have used “the people” to designate that class. This is merely a new form of class-imposed tyranny, having no more connection with “democracy” than a cunning exploitation of its vocabulary.

Tokyo Reds turn blue

The main differences between Communists and chameleons seem to be that this sub-order of lizards infests forests instead of cities and can range through the entire spectrum except red and blue. If blue stands for democracy, these are just the colors Communists can put on at will. In Tokyo, according to Gordon Walker, chief Far Eastern correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the Party bosses in a recent convention launched a campaign to prove that the Party is independent of Moscow, nationalistic and democratic. We have seen this sort of thing in Italy under Togliatti, who even posed as the friend of private property after that country's liberation. The new tactics of Japan's Reds put the damper on the propaganda against the Emperor. For a while, they will identify themselves with as many “good” Japanese as they can. They are even for “enlightened” capitalism—“racial” capitalists, they call them, as opposed to the “monopoly” capitalists playing up to the U. S. By these tactics Tokyo's Reds hope to line up enough support eventually to “take over.”

Chiang sums up

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, breaking a long silence, told two American newspapermen on July 5 that if communism is not checked in China, it will sweep over the whole of Asia. It is up to the United States to prevent this spread of communism by reactivating its policy of giving moral support to the Chinese Nationalists. If the United States fails to halt the communist tide, said the Generalissimo to Clyde Farnsworth and Howard Handelman at Taipeh, Formosa, “another world war would be inevitable.” Chiang feels convinced, on the basis of twenty-five years of dealing with Communists, that it is impossible for anyone to reach a settlement with them. He pointed out that Mao Tse-tung and the Red leaders

of China have unmistakably shown their close ties with the Cominform. To think that they might break with Moscow as Tito did is simply to be fooled by their propaganda. A defeatist view of the present military situation in China has been encouraged by communist propaganda, said Chiang, yet the fact is that less territory has fallen to the Reds than fell to the Japanese in the first year of an eight-year struggle. The situation is not beyond repair. Its seriousness is at last dawning upon more observers, what with Mao's cuddling up to Russia, the "feeler" talk of commercial relations with the Communists, the cutting off of foreign money from Shanghai. In Congress, Senator Knowland proposed to send a military mission to China at once, comparable to the one now in Greece to aid the anti-communists there. Delay in reactivating our policy on China continues to undo our policy of containing communism elsewhere.

Europe's economic log-jam

Why was the meeting of representatives of the Marshall Plan countries in Paris followed by hurried trips to the French capital by Lewis Douglas, our Ambassador in London, and by Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder? Why has the name of Sir Stafford Cripps, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, been featured in the American press every day for the past month? The answer is simple: Europe has reached an economic log-jam which the Marshall Plan was designed, over a period of four years, to avert. A year ago the fear arose that this log-jam would come with the end of Marshall Plan aid in 1952. Instead, it has come in 1949. The first thing to understand is that ERP has succeeded in raising European production beyond pre-war levels. That was its initial objective, and it has been reached. But no economic system, however productive, can operate smoothly without a free exchange of goods and services between the respective countries producing them. The Marshall Plan required the participating countries to work out a unified, cooperative system of economic recovery. In this they have failed. Their economic recovery has been carefully planned, and the plans have, by and large, been fulfilled. The trouble is that these plans have been set up country by country, looking to the recovery of each as a separate unit but not to a working system of free exchange among the countries of Europe and between them and countries outside Europe. Economic nationalism leads each nation to try for industrial self-sufficiency. The Iron Curtain blocks normal

trade. It is bad enough that countries in the same area produce surpluses of the same products. It is even worse to have the needs of countries in one area frustrated by their inability to trade with countries in the other area.

ECA funds needed now

Great Britain is the center of the European log-jam because she is the clearing-house of much of the world's trade. To buy from the United States, Great Britain has to use either gold or dollars. Where does she get her dollars? Mainly by selling to the United States. With a recession in the U. S. and falling prices, we have greatly reduced our purchases of such empire products as rubber, tin, cocoa and wool. Moreover, persistent rumors that Britain will devalue the pound (now at \$4.03) have caused American buyers to postpone their buying until they can get more pounds for their dollars. Britain cannot entirely stop buying from us, since we are the source of much of what she needs, especially in foodstuffs, the prices of which are jacked up by our farm policy. Her dollar and gold reserves—which must be kept at \$2 billion for safety—have fallen to \$1.6 billion, having dropped a reported \$280 million in the past three months. This plight of Britain is merely a symbol of the plight of France, Italy and other Marshall Plan countries. Their inability to buy from us, which is one factor in our own recession, is paralleled by their inability to buy from one another. Perhaps the chief reason for the lack of inter-European exchange is that the goods all Western European nations need, chiefly food stuffs and raw materials, are produced outside of Western Europe. That is why the policy of the Marshall Plan under ECA has been from the start to open the doors to multilateral trade so that Belgium could buy textiles from England, for example, and England could buy foodstuffs from us. This free interchange is now blocked by Britain's and Western Europe's lack of dollars with which to buy in our markets. If Britain can cut her production-costs, she will tempt more dollars into her coffers. But the general problem cannot be solved without many other readjustments, including the revival of normal trade between Eastern and Western Europe and continued ECA assistance. Congress will make a serious mistake if it cuts off ECA aid just when Europe needs it most. The effects would boomerang on us as badly as on Europe.

Start on Point Four now

Promises took a long step toward fulfillment when President Truman sent to Congress the drafts of two bills dealing with his famous Point Four program to build up the economic status and living conditions in the world's under-developed areas. The bills were sent through the Secretary of State on July 1. One would amend existing law to permit the Export-Import Bank to guarantee American foreign investments. The other bill would establish within the State Department an Institute of International Technical Cooperation, which would initiate and execute programs for the exchange of technical information among the needy nations. Such

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programs cover a broad field, being "designed primarily to contribute to the balanced and integrated development of the economic resources and productive capacities of under-developed areas." More specifically, they include economic, engineering, medical, educational and fiscal surveys, demonstration, training and like projects. The members of the United Nations long ago agreed to promote economic and social conditions among the many peoples who are today seeking "a fuller life." No one can deny that many millions of the world's inhabitants live in "grinding poverty," as the President pointed out June 24 in a special message to Congress. Are they any concern of ours? For two reasons, they are: 1) we have an obligation in charity to aid them in their distress, and 2) we are faced with the choice of aiding them democratically or letting them fall into the trap of communist imperialism. The sum of \$45 million is a small one for such a purpose.

Behind the British dock strike

In a hard-hitting address at Manchester on July 3, Prime Minister Clement Attlee charged that Communists were responsible for the recent wildcat dock strikes which have crippled British commerce. Stigmatizing the rank-and-file strike leaders as "instruments of an alien dictatorship" bent on destroying English socialism, he branded Soviet Russia as a "police state of communist hypocrisy" and described its policies as a "classic example of imperialism." Behind this outburst was a tale of international communist intrigue that deserves to be better known. Last March the communist-dominated Canadian Seamen's Union, an affiliate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress (which is the AFL in Canada), rejected an arbitrator's award that climaxed several months of wage negotiations. Since the CSU's own spokesman on the arbitration board had approved the settlement, it appeared that the union's leadership was more interested in disrupting Canadian shipping than in securing justice for the sailors. Thereupon the Canadian District of the Seafarers International Union (AFL) moved in, signed the arbitration award and began to man the ships—mostly with disgruntled CSU members. The CSU countered by calling a strike. Emissaries were sent to British port cities, where they were welcomed by communist minority elements in the Transport and General Workers union. These pro-Soviet tricksters, duping many of the dock workers, are the men behind the current wildcat strikes in Britain. A clearer case of international communist chicanery could scarcely be imagined. It illustrates the importance of the new anti-communist world labor organization which AMERICA welcomed last week ("Dream comes true," p. 411).

Christian shrines in the New City

By the Palestine Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947 the pledged policy of the United Nations calls for the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places under a juridical status still to be determined. By formal announcement of its political leaders, Israel is opposed to any internationalization other than a supervision of re-

ligious shrines. Counting on moving her capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, Israel is asserting that there are no shrines of any particular significance in the New City, the section her army controls. Let us list a few connected with Our Lord's life: the Garden of Gethsemane, the Grotto of the Agony, the Shrine of Our Lord's Ascension on Mount Olivet, the Cenacle of the Last Supper, the House of Caiphas and the Prison of Our Lord, the Shrine of Dominus Flevit, where Our Lord wept over the Holy City, and the Shrine of St. Peter in Gallicantu (the "cock-crow") on Mount Zion. Memories of Our Lady are connected with sacred places within the territory that Israel claims: the Shrine of her Death, the Dormition, and her Tomb. Religious institutions abound—monasteries, schools, convents of different rites and Christian groups dot the environs of the Holy City. Hence the solicitude for genuine internationalization of Jerusalem expressed by the Holy Father in two encyclicals. Hence the universal concern aptly expressed by the Anglican Archbishop of Jerusalem: "One is justified in claiming that internationalization is desired by the overwhelming majority of the Christians of the world."

NEA bans Communists

Three thousand delegates to the Boston convention of the National Education Association shouted approval of a ban on Communists as teachers, with only a few dissidents. The report had been prepared by twenty prominent educators, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower of Columbia. We are pleased that this body has recognized the validity of our own position on this issue (AM. 2/12, p. 506).

The "Clipper" returns

Not more than a month ago we were authoritatively informed by a Manhattan hack driver that Joe DiMaggio was finished. "Joe's washed up," he confided as the cab crawled in the East-West traffic. "The Clipper's played his last game." Though we had privately nourished the same opinion for some time, there remained a tiny doubt. Despite his modest, effortless style of play, DiMaggio had always been a great competitor. Was it safe to count him out this time? The cabbie convinced us because New York cabbies know absolutely everything. Then came the night of June 28. The battered Yankees were in Boston for a critical three-game series with Joe McCarthy's on-rushing Red Sox. The Yankee line-up was announced and there was "Jolting Joe" in center field. By now the world knows the story: how Joe won the game that night with a homer; how he won the game the next day with two homers; how the day after that he again supplied the decisive punch with a screaming drive clear out of the park. We don't want to exaggerate the saga of DiMaggio. He is a ball player and baseball is only a game. But by his courage in adversity this hero of America's youth has taught his followers a most important lesson. The really precious things in life are those bought with the hard coin of suffering. Welcome back, Joe!

WASHINGTON FRONT

Before signing off for the rest of the summer, I would like to look backward through the history of the first session of the 81st Congress and draw a few conclusions about the state of the Union since President Truman addressed it on that subject.

I have just re-read an article in the *New York Times* written about that time by a competent Washington observer. He predicted that, with the exception of one or two items in the civil-rights program, there was every reason why all of the triumphant Truman's program would be speedily adopted, including repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Granted his assumptions, there *was* every reason why his predictions should come true.

The trouble was that not all his assumptions were valid. The principal one was that there was such a thing as a true Democratic majority. In fact, a quick count, even that early, showed that in spite of organized labor's unprecedented efforts there was still a Taft-Hartley majority in Congress. The recent vote on the Taft labor bill in the Senate proved that. But what labor did succeed in doing in November, 1948 was to assure that such a bill could not be repassed by a two-thirds majority over a Presidential veto. This, of course, will leave things just as they were before and give the Democrats a campaign issue in 1950, in the North.

"In the North"—and, I may add, the West. That leaves the South. I have said many times before, and it cannot be too often repeated for those who watch political trends, that, with some exceptions, Democrats elected to Congress from the South would be Republicans if they ran in the North or West, or if there were not a one-party system in the South. The increasing industrialization of the South, and the inevitable unionization of the workers there, will ultimately result in throwing most of the present incumbents out. This dual process, I admit, has been slower than I thought, but I regard it as inevitable.

Meanwhile, the Senate frittered away most of its time in fruitless debate, and arrived at the deadline of June 30 with about three-fourths of its 1950 appropriations still not made, and under the humiliating necessity of passing a temporary measure allowing the agencies to pay employees at current rates. The Congress still further humiliated itself when, finding that it was unable to assume the responsibility of cutting expenditures, it attempted to pass this formidable, and almost impossible, job on to the President.

To this observer, the answer lies in the restoration of a genuine two-party system in the South. Until that is done, a Democratic President will continue to be elected, and his Congress will be a purely negative factor in the nation's welfare. Our interests both abroad and at home will continue to be compromised, and national unity impaired.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

P. J. Kenedy and Sons of New York are to be congratulated on the 1949 *Catholic Directory*, which has recently made its appearance. The most conspicuous feature of the book is its new look. It now appears in a three-column 8x11 page, which reduces its thickness, puts more information on one page, and makes for easier handling. A clue to the editorial labor involved in putting out the *Directory* is the fact that changes and additions that must be made each year to bring the record up to date average 157,000.

► Seven new U. S. bishops appear in the 1949 *Directory*, and one new diocese, Joliet, Illinois, created December 11, 1948. The Hierarchy in the United States, Honolulu and Alaska now comprises, besides the Apostolic Delegate, 4 Cardinals, 20 archbishops and 157 bishops. There are two bishops of the Byzantine Rite (in Stamford, Conn., and Philadelphia) and one of the Greek Rite (in Pittsburgh). There are 42,334 priests, 7,302 brothers and 141,606 sisters.

► American Catholic colleges and universities total 228, an advance of 7 over 1948; in them 240,048 students are enrolled, or 19,822 more than the preceding year. The number of high schools dropped by 47, to 2,385; but enrollment was up 2,327 to 508,724. Elementary schools numbered 8,318, an increase of 68; pupils were 2,435,250, an increase of 160,410. Total number of young people receiving a Catholic education: 3,184,022, an increase of 182,559 over last year.

► The Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) announces that its organization for this year's harvest season is complete in 25 States. CROP is sponsored jointly by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Church World Relief Service (22 Protestant denominations) and Lutheran World Relief. In the 1948 CROP drive, American farmers contributed more than 75 million pounds of commodities, representing 2,392 carloads for CROP's Friendship Trains, which went to 43 countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.

► "The Way, the Truth and the Life," a series of colored film strips with synchronized recordings, designed as an audio-visual aid to teaching the Baltimore Catechism, is in preparation under the sponsorship of St. John's University, Brooklyn, N. Y. The first unit, based on the opening sentence of the Creed, is scheduled for release in early September. Catholic Visual Education, Inc., 149 Bleecker St., New York 12, N. Y., is producing the film strips and recordings.

► Rev. James A. Magner of the Catholic University of America is taking a seminar group on tour in Europe, Aug. 8 to Sept. 14, visiting Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, England and Ireland. AMERICA readers will remember Fr. Magner as the author of scholarly articles on Mexico and Spain. He is also the author of *Men of Mexico* and *The Art of Happy Marriage*. C.K.

"Lay of the land"

in Germany

John J. McCloy, American zone High Commissioner-designate and currently Military Governor, has been touring Western Germany "to look over the lay of the land." There is much for Mr. McCloy to see and ponder—much that is good and not a little that is bad about our occupation of Germany to date.

There is, for example, the excellent new extension farm program at the University of Geisen, where German farmers are being taught much-needed modern agricultural methods. Already functioning in Bad Schwelmbach is the first training school for community leaders, while in Felbach and Schorndorf German citizens are learning the practices and procedures of democracy in community councils.

Although Mr. McCloy has not mentioned it among the objectives of U. S. policy, we presume that democratization remains one of our major aims for Germany. Hence we hope that projects like those named above will be encouraged and multiplied. For the same reason, we hope Mr. McCloy will put an end to practices that bring democracy into disrepute.

He would be well advised, for instance, to look into the records of U. S. "liaison and security officers" in each Kreise (county). The success of our occupation depends largely on the conduct of these officials. Ex-army officers for the most part, they know little of community administration.

What is worse, it is reported that too many of these proconsuls are not trying to sell democracy at all. They are, in fact, selling it short by conduct that scandalizes and often infuriates the Germans.

Mr. McCloy has received proposals for the improvement of our occupation practices from the division chiefs of OMGUS. One suggests that a training school be set up for fifty married "liaison and security officers."

Mr. McCloy should give serious consideration to that proposal. The representatives of the United States and of Mr. McCloy should not only be above reproach. They should, in the circumstances, be trained community educators, dedicated to the permanent democratization of Germany.

Remote control "by definition"

Last week, AMERICA suggested that the communist leaders on trial in New York City suffer from an occupational disease, which might be called "The Case of the Encysted Mind." Self-indoctrination has encrusted them with a hard, impenetrable shell of Stalinist ideology, from which they cannot emerge to live as normal human beings. Currently this occupational disease manifests itself in their desire to get on the witness stand in their own defense. Unless Judge Medina prevents it, all eleven of them, together with scores of other "progressive" witnesses, plan to give endless explanations of the Party line to unlightened Americans. As defendants in a criminal trial, they have no obligation to take the stand,

EDITORIALS

for once they do so, they expose themselves to the sharp cross-examination of United States District Attorney McGohey. Since they voluntarily put themselves in jeopardy, the question arises: what motives drive them to such conduct?

It won't do to say that they are stupid, and let it go at that. Theirs is not a case of stupidity in the usual sense of the term. These men have the mental capacity to execute the routine tasks of Party leaders, to make propaganda speeches, etc. Yet they deliberately take the stand, knowing full well that cross-examination will prove them to have lied many times under oath. For example, John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, quietly admitted that he had sworn falsely in order to get to Spain during the Civil War. He gave as justifying reason that the good of the United States required his services to Loyalist Spain. In his turn, Gilbert Green, head of the Illinois branch of the Communist Party, confessed that he had perjured himself in order to obtain a Federal position and also to travel abroad. Such admissions under cross-examination voluntarily sought are hard enough to explain.

What amazes the ordinary American even more is the fact that the communist leaders presented evidence on *direct* examination which helped to strengthen the Government's case. On June 28, Green disclosed under questioning of his own counsel that the Party teaches its members to answer "lies" about the advocacy of force and violence and about its allegiance to the Soviet Union. More than once, Judge Medina has intervened to explain to the defendants and their counsel that they are under no obligation to prove the Government's case.

Another observation by Judge Medina goes a long way towards explaining why the communist witnesses act the way they do. Several times he has remarked: "You Communists seem to think that if you say a thing, that makes it true." For years the communist leaders have isolated their minds from normal ways of thinking. In place of critical thought, they have disciplined themselves into accepting the interpretations of their Leader unquestioningly and absolutely. A thing is true if Stalin says it is. No need to check on the fulfillment of the 5-Year Plan, when Stalin says it has been attained. Recently, the leader of the Communist Party of France, Maurice Thorez, declared that the Red Army is "by definition" non-aggressive. Stalin defines, and the issue is closed!

Because the communist leaders in this country accept Stalin's "definitions" as making reality instead of describing it, they find no objection to admitting acts of perjury. Stalin has approved Lenin's definition of

morality: whatever hinders communism is a lie and what helps it is truth. Since the lies which Gates and Green told helped communism, they are not lies at all, and to call them lies is merely bourgeois prejudice against communist truth.

A serious complication has arisen for the communist leaders, however, from the fact that Stalin has also recommended Lenin's use of Aesopian language, or downright misrepresentation of communist intentions, about force and violence. On the one hand, their lies are truth, because they did just what their Soviet leaders wanted them to do. But on the other, they must use mild, evasive language which will deceive stupid non-communist minds. Gates and Green admit to lies and perjury, and Foster in a statement discussed elsewhere in this issue tries his hand at evasive "slave" language. What the befuddled communist leaders desperately need are more "definitions" by Stalin. If he were only to "define" the situation more thoroughly, there would be no problem as to whether they should go on admitting openly to what the bourgeoisie call lying, or should try to deceive with Aesopian fables. The communist leaders have conditioned themselves to accept Stalin's "definitions" as making reality. But when his "definitions" conflict, or prove to be inadequate, where are they to turn?

Thus, the really stupid one on trial in New York City is Stalin himself, since he has neglected to "define" which tactics are true for this "objective situation." If he will only tell the communist leaders what to think, they will do so exactly as he orders it. But being busy with many other countries at the present time, he lacks the leisure to "define" the American situation in detail, with the result that the American Party leaders are finding remote control "by definition" inadequate.

Defense hits a snag

Herbert Hoover's attack on the Senate unification bill before the House armed services committee on June 29 has uncovered a rather serious problem in national defense.

On May 26 the Senate passed by a unanimous voice vote a bill to strengthen military unification. This measure would definitely subordinate the Army, Navy and Air Force and their respective secretaries to the Secretary of Defense. It would give him more adequate supervision over their budgets. It would provide him with a Deputy. It would also provide for a non-voting Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is this last innocent-looking proposal which drew Mr. Hoover's fire before the House Committee.

Under the present system, the civilian Secretary of Defense is supposed to keep the Chiefs of Staff in line, thus insuring civilian control of the military establishment. But he is exposed to their adamant championing of their respective services and to their superior technical knowledge. To have some idea of the magnitude of the Secretary's responsibility we have only to recall that the three armed services presented Secretary Forrester with

budgets for 1950 totaling \$30 billion. He had to trim them to under \$15 billion.

The Hoover Commission's 14-member civilian Committee on the National Security Organization, with a corps of military advisers, consultants and staff members, carefully probed the problem of the Secretary's relations with the Joint Chiefs. It recommended that he be empowered to appoint a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It went on record as much opposed, however, to the idea of giving the Secretary a Chief of Staff of his own. He could choose one of the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as Chairman, but the civilian Secretary would have to make the final decisions in case of disagreement.

John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, 1941-1945, a banker-lawyer by profession and a member of the Hoover Committee, took strong exception to this rather timid step towards giving some military, as well as civilian, unity to the three services. As far as defense policy is concerned, but not command authority, Mr. McCloy felt that the arguments were just as strong for a single Chief of Staff as for a single Secretary of Defense. This Chief of Staff would have "at least the power of terminating discussion" among the heads of the three services, and of reporting the results of discussion to the Secretary.

In the final Hoover report, a minority of four members of the Commission, including Vice-Chairman Dean Acheson, also came out strongly against the moderate "task force" position and in favor of a single Chief of Staff with centralized authority over the three services. They cannot see how the Secretary of Defense can achieve civilian control over the military establishment, and achieve the economy and efficiency for which unification was adopted, unless he has a military counterpart under him to advise him.

Many flare-ups in Washington are merely political bonfires. But here the defense program has hit a real snag. Can the Secretary of Defense carry out his responsibilities without a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who has some real authority over the three services? If not, are we exposed to the dangers of "militarism" which Mr. Hoover ascribes even to the Chairman the Senate bill provides?

At first sight it would seem that Mr. Hoover's fears are greatly exaggerated. The Senate bill, after all, merely provides for a non-voting Chairman. What seems to worry the ex-President—and the chairman of the House committee on armed services, too—is that the bill, in describing his duties, adds "... and shall perform such other duties as the President and the Secretary of Defense may direct or as may be prescribed by law." This wording, says Mr. Hoover, "places too much power in any military officer and thus checks the vital civilian control of the armed services. . . ."

One thing is certain: our defense budget is getting out of hand. When the House voted its \$15.909 billion arms bill on April 13, by a vote of 271-1, it ran up the total by \$630 million over what the President had asked. It went all-out for the Air Force. Faced with a \$3 billion

budget deficit, the Senate heard Senator Flanders (R., Vt.) declare that \$3 billion could be knocked off the House total. Can a civilian like the Secretary of Defense judge where cuts can be made without impairing security when he must depend on the advice of three representatives of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force?

If a military man, able to make an independent appraisal of the needs of the three departments, could be appointed to arbitrate between the vying services—subject to the Secretary of Defense and ultimately to the President—it is quite possible that even more could be pared off our military budget than the \$1.5 billion the Hoover Commission estimates. Could that much be saved without an official resembling, at least, an over-all Chief of Staff? Our experience so far suggests that it cannot.

The du Pont case

On New Year's Day, 1800, there arrived at Newport, R. I., aboard the good ship *American Eagle*, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, his son Eleuthère Irénée, the latter's wife and three children and other close relatives. The father was a well-known French publisher and a famous member of the physiocratic school of economists. The son, with the friendly assistance of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, was to become still more famous as the founder of the greatest industrial empire in the United States.

Starting modestly on a farm near Wilmington, Del., Eleuthère Irénée began to manufacture black-powder. As he closed his books in 1804 on the first year's operations, sales reached \$10,000. By 1807 they had jumped to \$43,000. For the next six years profits averaged about \$7,000. In 1811, with the War of 1812 just around the corner, they rose to \$40,000. Since that time sales and profits have steadily mounted. From black-powder, the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. soon branched out into other lines, until today it makes over a thousand products. Its assets total \$1.585 billion. Through ownership of 10 million shares—twenty-three per cent of the total—it controls General Motors, the largest manufacturing corporation in the world. It also controls U. S. Rubber, one of the big four in the field, through ownership of seventeen per cent of the outstanding stock. It is thought to have connections with sixty more corporations.

On November 17, 1948 a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago began an investigation into the affairs of this sprawling industrial empire. Months went by without news. Then, on June 30, Tom C. Clark, U. S. Attorney General, filed an anti-trust suit, naming the du Pont Company, General Motors, U. S. Rubber and two du Pont family holding companies, Christiana Securities and Delaware Realty and Investment Corporation, as the principal corporate defendants. Also named as defendants were more than 100 individuals, including Pierre S., Lamont, Irénée du Pont and other well-known descendants of the two men who came seeking their fortunes here a century and a half ago.

E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. has been involved in anti-trust actions before. Because of the scope of the

charges, this one promises to be different. It may possibly develop into the most significant anti-monopoly case since the Sherman Act was made the law of the land nearly fifty years ago—more significant even than the celebrated Standard Oil case of 1911. The Federal Court in Chicago must decide whether the defendants have violated the Sherman Act. In deciding this it must reach a much more momentous decision, namely, whether the trend toward giant concentrations of economic power is to continue—resulting ultimately in some type of managed economy—or whether the nation should make one last effort to return to the free, competitive system envisaged by the authors of the Sherman Act. For a half-century we have temporized with the issue, evaded it, made spotty, half-hearted gestures toward meeting it. We have never honestly considered the problem inherent in a system of free, competitive enterprise, the problem which the late Pope Pius XI emphasized when he said that the end result of limitless free competition is concentration of economic power. This time the Government may really come to grips with the issue of private economic monopoly.

Chinese Nationalists come alive

When the Nationalist Government in China ordered the closing of all communist-held ports on June 25, they posed the United States and Great Britain a pretty question. The Nationalists were careful not to declare a "blockade." Such a declaration would have involved them in two major embarrassments. According to international law, they would have had to prove themselves capable of making the blockade "effective" before it would have any standing in international relations. And they would have thereby given the Communists the advantage of being, in a technical and legal sense, possessed of the rights of "belligerents." The Nationalists therefore declared only a "closure" on the ports.

Both our own Government and that of Great Britain have refused to acknowledge the validity of this revival of Nationalist military activity, on the score that it contravenes their rights under international law. Neither seems much disposed to contest it by force, and we have declined to protect American shipping interests in Chinese waters. No doubt Mr. Acheson, like most Americans, is inwardly pleased to see that the Nationalist resistance still has life left in it. On the other hand, the British Blue Funnel Line merchantman *Anchises*, strafed from the air by the Nationalists before the "closure" order went into effect, an example of the way in which tensions may be developed under present circumstances.

If the Nationalists succeed in crippling Shanghai, their success should encourage us to press for aid to China. Mao Tse-tung's June 30 article on "The People's Dictatorship" should be enough to disillusion commercial interests who think in terms of "doing business with the Communists." With Mao lined up solidly with the USSR—he admits the debt China's Communists owe the "mother country"—why delay any longer in meeting a challenge which must be met sooner or later anyway?

Conservatives collapse in Canada

A. Vernon Thomas

"THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY has never been defeated: it has always committed suicide." So said the late Lord Bennett, when plain R. B. Bennett, for five years Conservative Prime Minister of Canada. If ever that doleful statement was true it is certainly true in Canada today.

On June 27 the Canadian voters administered a devastating defeat to the Conservatives. In each of the ten Provinces the Party received a drubbing. With 69 seats in the House of Commons at dissolution, it returned from the election with only 42. An even worse rout overtook the Socialist Party (CCF—short for Co-operative Commonwealth Federation); its total membership was reduced from 32 to 12. Alberta remained true to its Social Credit idols, but returned only 10 as against 13 in 1945.

The Liberals, under their new leader, the Right Hon. Louis St-Laurent, won 193 seats as against their previous 125, out of a total membership of 262. It was the greatest Liberal victory since Confederation in 1867. For a second time Canada has a French-Canadian Prime Minister, the first being Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister from 1896 to 1911. A long step forward was taken towards Canadian unity.

The Conservative leader, the Hon. George Drew, resigned from the premiership of Ontario to enter the Federal contest. He is a handsome, debonair six-footer, who played football for his alma mater. He is a fluent speaker, a good parliamentarian, but suggests very little of the statesman. His forte appears to be the making of sensational charges, which, upon investigation, prove to have little or no foundation. A critic described him as "a slugger from the minor leagues."

As the Liberal leader traveled thousands of miles up and down Canada, which is long on geography, he seized innumerable occasions to mingle with the people and to speak to as many as possible. He made the most of the frequent whistle-stops of his special train. Audiences sensed that here was not only a world statesman (St-Laurent was one of the framers of the North Atlantic Pact), but a man characterized by genuinely deep sincerity and human warmth, a Christian gentleman if ever there was one.

Although most provocatively and unfairly attacked by a group of ultra-nationalists in his native Quebec, St-Laurent refused to reply in kind. He was called a bad Catholic because on one occasion he had failed to vote against some divorce bill. It was said he was not really French because his mother was Irish and that he spoke French with an accent. It was even said he wanted to abolish the French language, a shocking falsehood.

In the recent Canadian national elections the Liberal Party increased its parliamentary majority to a total of 68. The Conservatives lost 27 of their 67 seats, and the left-wing CCF had its representation of 28 more than halved. Why? Mr. Thomas, a Winnipeg newspaperman, canvasses the factors involved in the election and the results.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY HANDICAPS

Self-destruction of the Conservative Party began years ago, when Sir John A. Macdonald, the first Conservative chieftain, refused to commute the death sentence of Louis Riel, leader of the Métis (French half-breeds) in the risings of 1870 and 1885 in Western Canada. Sir John was an extremely able politician, with a magnetic and lovable personality. Unfortunately for him, his chief strength lay in Ontario, where the Orange Order was strong and preponderantly Conservative. English-speaking historians are pretty well agreed that the execution of Riel was political. Seldom has the death of one man had such political repercussions. Riel's execution went a long way to destroy the Conservative Party in Quebec, both in the Federal and Provincial spheres.

It was the bad luck of the Right Hon. R. L. Borden, a very fine Canadian, to have been Conservative Prime Minister when the First World War broke out. Later a union war government was formed, of which Mr. Borden remained the head. Under his Administration conscription was enforced, to the accompaniment of considerable violence in Quebec, where not only conscription but the war itself was far from popular. It is hard to believe, but unfortunately true, that in enforcing conscription amongst the French—or, better perhaps, in attempting to enforce it—a complete lack of tact was shown. English-speaking Protestant recruiting agents, for instance, were sent into districts that were very largely French and Catholic. While Mr. Borden was not personally responsible for many of the blunders, he had to accept responsibility for them.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, Conservative leader from 1921 to 1927, and Prime Minister for two brief periods, did rather less than nothing to repair the waning fortunes of his Party. The odium created in Quebec by enforcement of conscription in 1917 and 1918 attaches chiefly to Mr. Meighen. A man of considerable ability, an orator and a student, he suffered from the fact that his tongue was unfortunately a good deal quicker than his judgment.

Mr. Meighen's "Ready, Aye, Ready" speech, which hurt the Conservatives not only in Quebec but all over Canada, is a sample of his reluctance to await second thoughts. In the fall of 1922 when the Turks were pushing the Greeks out of Asia Minor and threatening British interests, Lloyd George sounded out Canada as to her willingness to send a contingent in case of war. The Mackenzie King Government (Liberal) announced receipt of the message on September 19. Four days later Mr. Meighen, in a speech at Toronto, criticized the

Government for not answering "Ready, Aye, Ready." This speech has remained part of the stock-in-trade of the French Canadians. If there is one thing about which Quebec is susceptible, it is the emphasis which the Conservative Party, and especially its Toronto front, has traditionally placed upon the connection with Great Britain.

In the eyes of Quebec the Conservative Party has been and still is ready to sacrifice Canadian interests to Great Britain, to follow her blindly whithersoever she leads. The British connection is a delicate matter throughout Canada. There is indeed great respect and great love for Britain, but it is tempered by strong Canadian national feeling in all the Provinces.

Inept utterances would appear to have been the jinx of the Conservative Party. The Liberals must surely have prayed, "O that mine enemy would make a speech." Mr. Bennett, on the eve of his departure for England to spend the rest of his days there, made the valedictory remark, "I am going home." These words came from a native Canadian, one upon whom Canada had bestowed her highest honor, the prime ministership, one who had made a fortune in Canada and had inherited another made-in-Canada fortune. The Quebec press promptly placed Mr. Bennett's remark in its armory to be produced at regular intervals.

But the experience of the Conservative Party with the Hon. John Bracken as its leader is weirdest of all. Mr. Bracken had been premier of Manitoba for twenty years, 1922 to 1942, winning four consecutive elections. However, throughout his Provincial premiership Mr. Bracken had ranked as a Liberal-Progressive, never as a Conservative. He had stood valiantly for freer trade and for a fairer deal between the manufacturing East and the agricultural West. Viewing Mr. Bracken's unfailing successes in Provincial elections, the Conservative Party had the brain wave that here was a man at last who could carry the whole of Canada for them.

Mr. Bracken, as could have been foreseen, immediately found himself amongst politicians who stood for almost everything he had opposed as premier of Manitoba. His speeches, of course, were persistently and mercilessly quoted against him. As increasing dissatisfaction with his leadership developed, he resigned, being replaced by Mr. Drew. Mr. Bracken's position within the Conservative ranks suggests the remark of *Géronte père* regarding his son in Molière's comedy *Les Fourberies de Scapin*: "*Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?*" ("How on earth did he get himself into that fix?")

Political blundering, after all, may be overlooked, but not downright duplicity. The heaviest charge against the Conservatives in the recent election is that in order to secure a delegation from Quebec, where their former vagaries had made it futile to run straight Conservative candidates, they supported candidates opposed to almost everything for which the Conservatives had traditionally stood, except that they shared a common desire to defeat the Liberals.

These pseudo-Conservative candidates were politicians whose campaigns were largely organized by the Union

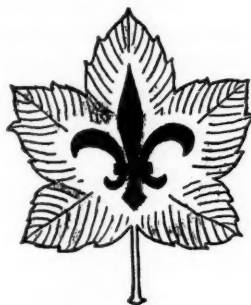
Nationale (National Union), the Party in power in Quebec under Premier Maurice Duplessis. The Party is openly anti-British, anti-conscriptionist, opposed to loans or gifts to Great Britain, opposed to the North Atlantic Pact and to participation in any war unless Canadian territory is invaded.

Within a few days of the outbreak of the Second World War Premier Duplessis sprang a general election with the campaign cry of "Keep Canada out of the War." He suffered overwhelming defeat, but came back in 1944, and last August swept Quebec as the defender of Provincial autonomy against the designs of the Ottawa government.

This had reference to a Federal plan to readjust the financial relations between the Dominion and Provincial governments, which, with the passage of time, had become unworkable. Premier Duplessis represented the proposals as an attack on Quebec's autonomy, and Premier Drew of Ontario took the same stand in regard to his Province. All the other Provinces have accepted the plan.

Premier Duplessis' overwhelming victory of a year ago tempted the national Conservative Party beyond its strength. The prospect of capitalizing upon it to defeat the Ottawa Government was too rosy to be passed up.

Barkis, in the guise of Premier Duplessis, was willin'. Thus it came about that in the recent election the Conservatives were hand in glove with candidates who declared that Canada had been "bled white" during the war for Britain's sake, and that the ghosts of Canadian soldiers, torn from their homes by a government of which Mr. St-Laurent was a



member, were pointing an accusing finger at him.

This dishonorable alliance met the fate it so richly deserved. Out of 73 Quebec seats, St-Laurent followers carried 68, in most cases by large majorities. Not only did the campaign fail in Quebec, but its obvious dishonesty appalled the electors of Ontario, where 56 seats out of 83 went Liberal.

The victory of Mr. St-Laurent, while highly valuable as a demonstration of Canadian unity, leaves the Government without an effective opposition. Conservative parties are still capable of service if they adhere to their true function, which, speaking generally, is that of providing a breathing space for the due digestion of far-reaching changes in the economic set-up.

During the fourteen years of Liberal rule at Ottawa, family allowances, unemployment insurance and other important welfare acts have been passed; and there is perhaps something to be said for the view that the present calls for a Conservative regime, if there were a real Conservative party to provide one. The public is tired and emotionalized. Conservative administrations composed of strong, far-sighted men are often better able to do things that the moment seems to call for.

Paul Blanshard and the Catholic Church

George H. Dunne, S.J.

V: The Church and Medicine

I HAVE ALREADY called attention to the main distortions which invalidate Blanshard's discussion of the Church and medicine and the Church's doctrine in the field of sex, birth control and eugenics (cf. my article in *Commonweal*, March 12, 1948). I shall not go over that ground again. There is one point, however, that needs to be re-emphasized because it goes to the heart of Blanshard's philosophy.

In my article in *Commonweal* I charged Blanshard with denying "the right of Catholic moralists (and by implication any moralist) to pass moral judgment upon anything a physician or surgeon chooses to do with medicine or with knives. . . ." Blanshard, in reply, called this an "astounding statement" and denied that he did anything of the sort (cf. *Humanist*, August, 1948, p. 56).

All Blanshard's denial proves is that he does not understand the logic of his own arguments. Blanshard thinks it a startling presumption on the part of Catholic moralists to pass moral judgment on such matters as therapeutic abortion, sterilization, irradiation of the ovaries, contraception, abortion, masturbation, artificial insemination, sodomy, euthanasia (cf. Blanshard, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, pp. 107, ff.). The only logical conclusion I can derive from this is that, in his opinion, Catholic moralists have no right to pass judgment on such matters. Blanshard finds it intolerable that Catholic moralists "exercise definite authority over the doctor and nurse in respect to many aspects of professional life . . . particularly . . . in the special areas of birth, death and sexual conduct" (p. 108). Again, the only logical inference I can arrive at is that, in his opinion, Catholic moralists have no right to intervene in these special areas. Blanshard objects to the fact that "the American priest is trained and authorized to intervene in the field of medicine and surgery at all those points where there is any chance that the interests of the soul may be subordinated to the interests of the body" (p. 108). The only logical conclusion I can draw from all this is that, in Blanshard's opinion, the Catholic moralist has no right to intervene in anything that falls within the field of medicine and surgery. If words mean anything, any such intervention is, in Blanshard's opinion, an indefensible "priestly (in the context of his style one may legitimately regard 'dastardly' as a synonym for 'priestly') participation in medical practice" (p. 108). If all of this is not equivalent to denying the right of Catholic moralists to pass moral judgment upon anything a physician or surgeon chooses to do with knives, I do not know what it means.

At the cost of repetition let me point out again that, in this phase of his discussion, Blanshard is not arguing

In the fifth article of his series on Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, Fr. Dunne deals with the widespread arguments used to discredit the Church as "reactionary" because she upholds her moral principles against the exponents of opportunism. These arguments are used especially in the fields of medicine and eugenics.

that the Catholic moral position on the subject—let us say, of abortion—is unsound morally. He is saying, what right have Catholic moralists to discuss abortion?

I think we can now put Blanshard into his proper niche. He is a secularist, pure and simple, who would exclude morals from almost every department of human activity.

Secularism is one of the most prevalent, and dangerous, intellectual errors of our time. In fairness it must be admitted that the Blanshards are not the only ones who have accepted the premises of secularism. In calling attention to the mote in Blanshard's eye we cannot honestly ignore the beam in our own.

A few weeks ago I gave a brief radio talk touching upon certain aspects of labor problems. Among other things I expressed some opinions, derived from an application of moral principles to these problems, about the closed shop, and stated why I regarded the legislative outlawing of the closed shop as bad legislation. I had scarcely returned home from the radio station when I received a telephone call from a Catholic businessman, who preferred to remain anonymous, taking me severely to task for my presumption in discussing such matters. He did not say that my opinion was unsound. He said I had no right to express an opinion. He said that I should "stick to religion and to the pulpit and not meddle (Blanshard would say 'intervene') in business." I pointed out to him that neither business nor labor-management relations were conducted in a moral vacuum and that that fact immediately justified me in discussing the moral aspects of problems in these fields. I pointed out that the Church had a social philosophy and that this fact justified me in discussing the social aspects of such problems. His only rebuttal was to keep repeating that I should "stick to religion." The discussion abruptly ended when I lost my temper and told him in what was, I am afraid, ungentlemanly language, what kind of a dunderhead I thought he was.

It is this same mentality which, in another diocese, prompted certain of the leading lay pillars of the Church to protest to ecclesiastical authorities because of my "presumption" in publicly supporting a Fair Employment Practices Bill. Their leader insisted that the scope of my activities should be restricted to the confessional.

This is secularism, which would imprison religion and morality within the four walls of the church, upon the theory that they have nothing to say about what goes on in the market place, in the public forum or in the academic hall. This is the philosophy which spawned Machiavellianism in politics and predatory capitalism in eco-

nomics and which finds its logical synthesis in the ruthlessness of communism.

Blanshard denies the right of a Catholic moralist to intervene in the field of education, medicine, sociology, domestic relations and politics. Before taking Blanshard to their bosom, American non-Catholics should ask themselves whether they wish to identify themselves with a philosophy which dehumanizes society. I use the word "dehumanize" advisedly, because all human actions are moral actions.

It is necessary to say one more word about abortion. Any objective discussion of the Church's position is impossible unless there is clear understanding of precisely what that position is. The fact that Norman Thomas, in reviewing Blanshard's book, obviously misunderstands the Catholic position suggests at least that Blanshard has not stated it clearly. The Church's position is not, as Mr. Thomas says it is, "that, if a choice must be made, the life of the unborn child, even the smallest embryo, should be preferred to that of the mother" (cf. Norman Thomas, *Nation*, May 14, 1949, p. 561). On the contrary, the position of Catholic moralists is that, wherever a choice must be made, everything possible should be done to save the mother even though the measures taken indirectly result in the loss of the child. The measures which may be taken, however, do not include the right directly to kill the child in order to save the mother.

I think that a person of Norman Thomas' intelligence should be able to recognize that there is a great difference between the two statements and that there is a supremely important moral principle involved, and not a mere casuistic quibble.

The Catholic position is based upon respect for the individual human life, any human life; upon the principle that the direct and voluntary killing of any innocent human being, by the state or an individual, is murder; and upon the principle that the end, however good and desirable in itself, does not justify the means. Once these values are repudiated there is no moral limit to the crimes that can be committed against the human person. A rigorously logical path leads from abortion to euthanasia and the gas chambers. A logically satisfying case can be made out for the extermination of all Jews. Without Jews there would be no Jewish problem, (though other scapegoats would be found to take their places). The extermination of all Catholics would be a logically satisfying solution to the problem that haunts Paul Blanshard—the Catholic problem. Once we claim the right directly to kill one innocent person in the name of a greater good there is left no moral ground upon which to protest the killing of tens of thousands of innocent persons in the name of a greater good—unless morals is a mere matter of numbers.

If the fetus is not a human being, then, of course, the Catholic position is based upon an erroneous premise. It would seem, however, that the burden of proving that the fetus is not a human being rests upon those who deny it and that they should assume this burden before proceeding to disembowel the fetus or to crush its skull.

It is impossible, within the limits of these articles, to

discuss each of the innumerable distortions which mark almost every page of Blanshard's discussion of the Church and sex, marriage, divorce and annulment. Fortunately it is not necessary to do so. It is enough to understand from what point of view Blanshard discusses these questions.

Those who were the beneficiaries of the "confidential reports" of the informant who described the anti-KKK rally in Los Angeles (cf. my second *AMERICA* article) should have ascertained his point of view before giving credence to anything he had to say. The point of view of Congressman John Rankin utterly disqualifies him as a spokesman for democracy or democratic ideals. On the other hand, however much they may differ between themselves and however much I may differ with either or both of them on matters of important detail, the views of Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee on the subject of democracy and human freedom are entitled to my serious attention.

Before accepting Blanshard as an impartial critic of Catholic doctrine, much less before embracing him as a champion of their own ideals, American non-Catholics would be well advised to discover his point of view on the subject of sex and marriage.

In 1926 Blanshard, after a three-month visit to Soviet Russia, published an article on "Sex Standards in Moscow" (*Nation*, May 12, 1926, pp. 522 ff.). It could be regarded as a straight reportorial job which did not com-

mit Blanshard himself. However, there is enough internal evidence in the article itself to indicate that the ideals which he found prevalent in Moscow in 1926 reflected his own ideals. At the very least, there is little room for doubt that he regarded the standards which he describes as soundly progressive.



It is well known, of course, that, presumably made wiser by experience, the makers of policy in Soviet Russia have made an almost complete about face in this field since 1926. But if they have changed their ideas, there is nothing to suggest that Blanshard has changed his.

Blanshard describes a discussion meeting in which some six hundred young people between the ages of 18 and 25 participated. "Sex experience was taken for granted as a normal thing inside or outside of marriage. . . . The young people discussed sex relations, abortion, and love with the candor of obstetricians." Blanshard calls this a "robust attitude."

I am reminded of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* in which love, stripped of all its nobility, dignity and meaningfulness, is reduced to the level of a mere muscular tumescence which young people discuss with the clinical coldness of laboratory technicians.

"Marriage is an agreement between two people to have each other; there is no legal compulsion to register marriage; there are no laws against people who live together

without marriage." Well, that makes it pretty plain. Marriage seems reduced to the same level as prostitution or concubinage in as much as the only essential element is common to all three: an agreement between two people to have each other, not "for better or for worse," but for a night, or several nights, or until they tire of each other.

Since to Blanshard the sacramental view of marriage is reactionary (*cf. idem*, p. 522), it is safe to assume that, in his opinion, this casual attitude towards marriage is progressive.

In Moscow in 1926 grounds for divorce were not needed. "The causes of divorce are matters of private concern, and, if the line is not too long, man and wife can still get a divorce in Moscow in fifteen minutes, provided both parties sign the application. Marriages and divorces for the Moscow area are granted in the same little upper room of the court building, by the same clerks."

He is surprised to find "almost no birth control movement in Russia." But he seems gratified that "the Government has turned to legalized and regulated abortion."

O Brave New World! Blanshard can have it. Apparently even the Russians no longer want it. The question is, do American non-Catholics want it? If they do, Blanshard is their champion. If they do not, they will repudiate Blanshard as an objective critic of Catholic marriage concepts.

Masterpiece in double-talk

William Harbison

FOR SEVERAL WEEKS PAST, counsel for the communist leaders on trial in New York City have been trying to coerce Judge Medina into accepting a 30,000-word defense of the Communist Party and its tactics. Its alleged author is William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in this country. Mr. Foster claimed to be too sick to appear in court along with the other eleven communist leaders. Nevertheless, he has been well enough to write this extremely tedious and cautiously worded defense of communist tactics, which appeared in the Party's newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, for May 23.

Judge Medina's position is clear and just. No defense of the Communist Party will be admitted as evidence unless it can be subjected to cross-examination. On the other hand, lawyers for the communist leaders hope to introduce Foster's testimony in his absence, and therefore without the peril of having its innumerable contradictions, evasions and downright misrepresentations exposed.

If the ordinary reader had the patience to plod through this heavy and extremely boring statement, he would probably miss most of its innuendoes and devious circumlocutions. It is a masterpiece in double-talk. Before reading any communist document, the prudent reader

will do well to equip himself with at least three guiding norms.

First, he will recall how Lenin defined ethics in *The Younger Generation* (Little Lenin Library, Vol. 26, p. 41). Whatever helps the communist revolution is moral. What does not help it is immoral. Consequently, something is true if it helps communism, and a lie if it hinders communism. On June 9, John Gates, who is editor of the *Daily Worker*, admitted that he had repeatedly done what the bourgeoisie would regard as lying under oath. According to Gates, these "lies" were justified by the needs of the Party. On June 30, Gilbert Green, head of the Illinois branch of the Party, further testified that he sees no wrong in lying under oath in order to obtain a needed job or to make a necessary trip out of the country.

Secondly, the reader of communist literature will need to remember that Lenin in his work on imperialism (Little Lenin Lib., Vol. 15, p. 7) insisted on the use of "Aesopian language" whenever it is necessary to talk in a legal way about revolutionary activity. The Greek slave Aesop had discovered that fables about animal life could be employed effectively to criticize the foibles of human beings. Lenin cursed the fact that he had to use this "slavish" manner of expression. Yet he saw no other way to write safely about violent revolutionary programs.

The most useful point in the testimony of Louis Budenz, first government witness in the New York trial, was his emphasis upon the communist use of Aesopian language, of their saying violently revolutionary things in an apparently legal way. As former editor of the *Daily Worker*, Budenz proved himself a competent witness on what communist phraseology really means. The communist leaders know very well that if the Government makes Budenz' charge stick, all their defense testimony falls into disrepute.

Thirdly, the reader of communist propaganda must keep in mind that such propaganda always involves two truths: one for the gullible masses and another for the tried and true Party leaders. Thus, it is possible for the communist leaders to approve publicly a policy which they privately disavow. Kravchenko has fully explained this matter of the two truths in his autobiography, *I Chose Freedom*. And Louis Budenz in the story of his years within the Party showed how it was applied at the communist headquarters in the United States.

Armed with these guiding norms to help him to interpret communist Aesopian truth, the reader of Foster's 30,000-word defense will soon realize that he is dealing with an expert in double-talk. On the one hand, Foster must express himself legally—i.e., deceitfully—to the jury; and, on the other, he must convince Moscow of his complete loyalty to the principles and practice of socialism, as they are understood in the USSR.

One of the first instances of communist double-talk is the confused way in which Foster uses the word "socialism." Sometimes he gives the impression that he means socialism as applied in England or as advocated by socialist groups in this country. The jury will naturally recognize that most of these groups do not advocate the

violent overthrow of our Government. Then the term "socialism in the USSR" is slipped in quietly. We should recall that the Bolshevik leaders never pretended that they were establishing communism in the Soviet Union. Even today, "USSR" means Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

Judge Medina has repeatedly tried to get the communist witnesses to define democracy and other ideas connected with a peaceful socialist victory at the polls. The communist witnesses, however, have steadfastly refused to give clear responses to the judge's queries.

Foster also tries to draw a sharp distinction between saying and doing things. It is a fact, and one which he will have an extremely hard time evading, that even during the war period the Party leaders insisted upon the study of the revolutionary classics of Lenin and Stalin. But, of course, this is only "saying things." Where are the "overt acts" of force and violence? A few paragraphs later, Foster adds this interesting thought from Lenin: "Action is theory come alive. Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." In other words, all who have ears to hear can understand that in due time the Party leaders will apply Lenin's "correct orientation."

In his testimony of June 24, Gilbert Green, head of the Illinois branch of the Communist Party, asserted that the Party leaders do not advocate "mechanical" application of the works of Lenin and Stalin to this country. But he failed to say that Stalin himself has condemned their "mechanical" application to the USSR.

Foster goes to great lengths to show that there is no "mechanical" blueprint for a world revolution based upon the model of the Russian communist revolution. Yet it would cost him his "political" life to deny that Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* is the guide to communist activity the world over.

One touching bit of evasion is Foster's assurance that Stalin does not idealize violence, but merely does not like to be taken by surprise. Repeatedly, Foster hints that Communists in this country are prepared to imitate this prudent example of the Soviet leader. If violence does come to America, it will not be Communists who will start it, but the Wall Street "fascists." Any communist act of violence will only be in legitimate self-defense. Foster further explains that it was only in self-defense that Lenin used violence in 1917. Likewise, the People's Governments in Eastern and Central Europe, having learned from the experience of the Bolshevik leaders, are merely acting in self-defense against the "fascist reactionary aggressors," and by no means according to a mechanical blueprint drawn up in Moscow.

It is extremely important to understand Foster's use of the word "fascist." He begins by asserting that Wall Street is fascist. Next, he identifies President Truman, the Democrats and Republicans and the entire U. S. Government with Wall Street. Thirdly, he insists that big business makes peaceful democratic action impossible. Fourthly, he explains that while the Communist Party is peace-loving, and will "never lead the people needlessly into violent struggle," nevertheless "its supreme job is to

mobilize the American people in struggle against the big capitalist fascists and warmongers." The final defense is this: "Whatever violence may occur . . . will be originated and engineered by the capitalists, not by the Communists." Thus, by the device of Aesopian language, Foster legally assures those who can understand fables that the Communist leaders do advocate the violent overthrow of our government.

Fuller light was shed on the real meaning of Foster's use of the word "fascist" by the testimony of Gilbert Green, given on June 22. Green admitted that any communist denial of the intention to use force and violence against our Government could be officially nullified whenever the Party leaders decide that our Government was turning fascist. Under shrewd cross-examination by U. S. District Attorney John F. X. McGohey, he further confessed that the very testimony which the defense lawyers had introduced proved that the Party leaders were actually convinced that our Government is rapidly headed towards fascism. Of course, he did not expect Mr. McGohey to be so adept at interpreting Aesopian double-talk.

How does Foster deal with the question of war between the U.S.A. and the USSR? To begin with, he tells us that the American Party is an independent organization, not affiliated with any international group. However, it does learn from the experience of other Communist Parties throughout the world. One thing which the experience of the French and Italian parties has taught American Communists is to refuse to fight in any war between the U.S.A. and the USSR, since such a war can result only from an act of aggression by the United States. Furthermore, the experience of the Communist Party of China has been very helpful. If the United States attacks the Soviet Union, the Communist Party in this country must adopt the "necessary means" to unite the people against the imperialist aggressors. A very mild phrase, indeed, for what Foster has in mind.

No better example of "Aesopian language" can be found in this long and very devious statement than one which occurs at the very end. The title at the top of the last page reads: "General Political Line of the American Communist Party." At the beginning of the text appears a picture of Lenin and, at the very end, one of Stalin. Such things are not accidental in communist literature. They are part of the Aesopian language, which was approved of long ago by Lenin himself in his work on imperialism. The ordinary reader might not even notice whose picture is on the last page. As a build-up, pictures of the indicted twelve appear on preceding pages. Pictures of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln are also thrown in as red herrings to distract the unwary reader from the true trail of communist ideology. But the very last space in Foster's article is reserved for none other than Stalin himself. Which is only just, since he has the final word on everything connected with the political line of the American Communist Party.

(Mr. Harbison has made a specialty of studying communist propaganda and tactics for the past several years.)

The Case of the Missing Underground

Paul W. Facey

A CURIOUS BOOK has been circulating for the past six months. It is *God's Underground* by Father George "as told to" Greta Palmer. It tells the story of an anonymous priest who says he discovered an organized resistance movement operating in the Soviet Union in 1945.

According to the story, the resistance movement embraces a Christian religious underground, together with groups of ex-Communists, Red Army deserters, nationalist and separatist groups, relatives and friends of those who have suffered in purges, trade-union leaders, disillusioned workers, hostile peasants, Protestants, Moslem and Jewish groups, all joined in a giant political conspiracy to overthrow the communist regime.

These heterogeneous groups keep in contact through an elaborate system of secret codes and passwords which are changed every month. Ideologically they are bound to one another through their common devotion to a "plan" for the political and economic rebuilding of post-communist Russia. All of them are "eager to cooperate with any liberators who may reach them from the outside world," and "we of the West have an obligation to liberate them from the oppressive despots whom they hate."

This makes sensational reading. If there is political resistance to Stalin organized on this vast scale, it is the most important news to come from Russia since 1917. If the tale of the anonymous priest is true, it must be read immediately by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Kennan and the others who make our foreign policy, for it will force them to revise one of their key assumptions.

THE RELIGIOUS UNDERGROUND

The anonymous author builds his case around an account of his personal contact with one of the links in the chain of conspiracy, the religious underground. He traveled incognito, he says, up and down and across the Soviet Union from May to November, 1945. During these months he claims to have witnessed at first hand the operations of a secret group of Christian believers. This underground religion, according to the story, is in no way connected with the Russian Orthodox Church, which simultaneously operates above-ground with official toleration. The underground is reported to look upon the Orthodox Church as a "quisling," and it calls the Patriarch a "puppet-Patriarch"; when the day of liberation comes, its adherents will "happily" put themselves "under the protection and tutelage of the Holy Father." The underground is no mere handful of dissenters: "far more confessions are heard, more Communions given by the secret priests than by those in the state-tolerated churches."

These are the essential operations of the alleged under-

LITERATURE AND ARTS

ground religion: 1) traveling priests perform the sacred functions in secret and at great risk; 2) a secret seminary in Moscow trained recruits to this priesthood until it was closed in 1938; 3) secret monasteries maintain the contemplative life; 4) the devotional life of the faithful is supported by wandering minstrels who have preserved the traditional hymnody; 5) where there are no priests, the faithful send baptismal water, wedding rings and earth from graves to be blessed by priests in distant places.

The anonymous priest was there, he says, and saw all of this himself.

Curiously, however, N. S. Timasheff's *Religion in Soviet Russia*, published in New York in 1942, has a section relating the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, part of which went underground during the years of intense persecution, especially in 1937-8. In that section one reads reports of: 1) traveling priests, on page 79; 2) the secret seminary in Moscow and 3) the secret monasteries, on page 80; 4) the wandering minstrels, on page 69; and 5) the practice of sending baptismal water, wedding rings and earth from graves to be blessed by priests in distant places, on page 78.

Curiously, too, all the incidental items which lend flavor and credibility to the story of the anonymous author are to be found in the same section of Timasheff's book.

The story of the couple who separately brought their child to be baptized, each unaware that the other was a believer, which takes up three pages of the current book, is told in a few lines on page 81 of *Religion in Soviet Russia*. The icons miraculously preserved from deterioration, the priest who taught boys to play football, the priests who inserted religious readings into their readings of the Russian classics, and the high official whose funeral revealed that he had been an archbishop in disguise: they are all in the same little section of Timasheff's book. Minute scrutiny reveals no single evidence of underground religion in *God's Underground* which was not reported seven years ago by Dr. Timasheff.

There is this vital difference, however, between the two accounts. Timasheff reported that the underground activity took place in 1937-1938, and that it was the Orthodox Church that went underground during that period of bitter persecution by the communist government. The anonymous priest, on the other hand, says he saw all of these things in 1945, and he is very, very careful to

insist that his underground has nothing to do with the Orthodox Church and that it despises the legally tolerated religion as a tool of the communist regime.

This alleged religious underground he has to separate from the Orthodox Church. It is his key link in the chain of groups which he claims are conspiring to overthrow the Government. No one would be expected to believe that the Orthodox Church, so utterly dependent upon the Government, is involved in a "giant conspiracy" to overthrow the communist regime. But a dissident religious underground, especially one with leanings toward Rome and the Vatican: that many would swallow—and apparently many have swallowed it without the slightest grimace.

The fact is, part of the Orthodox Church went underground in 1937-8: the story is in *Religion in Soviet Russia*. That an organized underground religion, severed from the Orthodox Church and leaning toward Rome, existed in the Soviet Union in 1945 is not at all demonstrated by the author of this curious book. If that portion of his evidence which is so strikingly parallel to the earlier book is eliminated from his tale, there is nothing of his own to prove he ever was in contact with the underground religion except the remarkable system of codes and passwords.

One of the secret code messages, incidentally, involved placing on a table in a certain pattern "one quarter-pound of tea, five large potatoes, a handful of raisins." This is curious. A man who was in Moscow at that time has told the present writer that tea was so scarce and brought such a high price in 1945 that a pound of it would take a person from Moscow to Vladivostok and back.

THE POLITICAL RESISTANCE

The author contends that there is a "broad social conspiracy linked with the religious underground," united in support of a "plan" whose existence, together with its clandestine method of circulation, was for him "evidence of a capacity for organization among the men of the resistance."

We are told that the "plan" is to be found only in tattered mimeographed bulletins which are run off "in government offices and Party headquarters," among other places. The same mimeograph equipment is never used twice. The author says he has been handed these bulletins "by mysterious strangers inside Russia and out."

Crouched in a hayfield, "at moonrise," a professor explained to the author "many technical points of the 'plan' which had been hazy" to him before. He does not communicate many of these details to his readers.

"Enthusiasts of the 'plan,'" the author says, "include leaders of the major resistance groups within the country. I found myself in touch with most of them."

Unfortunately, the only persons to whom the author directly links the "plan," besides the professor in the hayfield, are two men with whom he says he talked before he entered the USSR. One of these is identified only as "a young major who had studied sociology at the University of Leningrad"; the other was also a major, other-

wise unidentified, who discoursed on the plan as he and the author were "sitting in a small, smoky café and drinking vodka late one night."

Talks with a professor in a hayfield and with a major in a smoky café are the only evidence the author presents to support his thesis that a host of anti-Government groups are united behind a "plan" to be put in force after they have ousted the Communists. There is not a shred of evidence in the book for the existence of a "giant conspiracy," as he terms it, to overthrow Stalin.

LIBERATION

If there is no evidence for the existence of the underground religion or of the "broad social conspiracy to which it is linked," there is no reason to take seriously the author's contention ("as told to Gretta Palmer") that there is a resistance movement in Russia awaiting "liberators in London and Washington," or that "we of the West have an obligation to liberate them from the oppressive despots whom they hate."

This is a curious book indeed.

Is the author a pathological prevaricator? Was he ever in Moscow? Why does he record as observed by him in 1945 facts which were reported in 1942 by another author as of 1938? Why does he conceal his name, when the story of his arrest in Prague was reported by an American press agency in 1946? Why does he lend support to Soviet propaganda that the Catholic Church is affiliated with political conspiracies against the Communists? Why does he pen a call to arms against the Soviet Union? Is it to persuade people like Henry Wallace and the late Rabbi Wise that the Catholic Church wants war with Russia? Or is the Missing Underground the construction of the fertile imagination of the feature-story ghost writer.

A curious book. A dangerous book? It could be.

(Rev. Paul W. Facey, S.J., is assistant professor of sociology at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.)

Division

In burning blue and gold the day goes over,
Weaving from snow and flush of blossom-sprays,
From kindled emerald and orchard-lays
The world-symphonic poem: loved and lover.

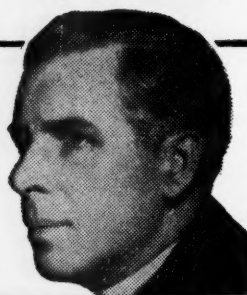
Marriage this is indeed of earth and heaven:
Petal by petal, note by molten note
Their harmony streams down. Why cold, remote
Are you, my heart, yet so with longing riven?

What discord, what divorce of body and spirit
Now flings you here in thought, now wings you there,
Never to rest, never at core to share
This radiant wholeness; no, not once come near it?

Yet surely Love burns here in actual presence,
And I am ache and ice who should be glow.
Take me, and break me, lovers, floe by floe,
Melt, integrate me in your flaming essence.

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Catholic marriage

TWO IN ONE FLESH

By Rev. E. C. Messenger, Ph.D. New-
man. 3 vols. 327p. \$7.50

In three volumes, published separately, but with one purpose, Dr. Ernest Messenger presents a scholarly treatise on sex and marriage in the light of Holy Scripture and Catholic tradition.

In our day, when books of a well-nigh pathological candor on this topic are multiplying with startling rapidity, it will surprise many to read of a theological investigation into this delicate subject.

Fully aware of the problem, the author is deeply convinced that some writers who are Catholic have given the impression that sex is not only a dangerous appetite, but somewhat suspect in itself and at best a concession to a nature otherwise noble. It is this alleged anti-sex prejudice which Dr. Messenger attacks. His thesis is that in itself sex is good and holy even though in fallen human nature it is a source of much moral evil in practice. The result is the fostering of a balanced view and a more wholesome attitude toward a subject easily treated from one extreme or the other.

Vol. II is theological and, while it may not be revealing to the professional theologian, it contains an abundance of information and a detailed analysis of the doctrinal treatment according to Scripture and tradition. The author distinguishes between the "main line of tradition" and occasional deviant statements frequently taken out of context.

The review of the doctrine of the Church on sex and marriage is done with the twofold purpose of preventing misunderstanding on the part of those outside the Church and of helping those within the Church to base their instructions upon the full Catholic tradition. The author submits his development to the Church for judgment. Some of his conclusions have been challenged by the English theologian, J. H. Crehan, S.J.

In the practical advice offered in Vol. III, Dr. Messenger continues to stress the wholesomeness of the Catholic attitude. In addition to the moral principles covered in most moral manuals, he offers to those already married or contemplating marriage the beautiful rites and prayers with which the Church surrounds this institution at once social and religious. He repeats his caution that those offering pastoral advice must constantly refresh their minds as to the full and accurate doctrine of the Church.

The entire work seems to give good promise of accomplishing its splendid purpose. **DAVID W. TWOMEY, S.J.**

BOOKS

Philippine hero

THE PRIDE OF THE MALAY RACE:
A Biography of José Rizal.

Translated from the original Spanish of Dr. Rafael Palma by Roman Ozaeta.
Prentice-Hall. 385pp. \$3.

José Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines, was executed by the Spanish Government for sedition in 1896. Aside from any considerations of justice, the move was singularly ill advised. It gave a symbol and a rallying point to the incipient nationalist movement and precipitated the last and most serious of a long series of rebellions against Spanish rule.

Rizal's career bears out the general pattern of the genesis of nationalist movements in the Far East while casting a revealing light on certain characteristics peculiar to the Philippine scene. He was born of a well-to-do landlord family and received the best schooling obtainable at the time, first in the Jesuit Ateneo Municipal, then in the Dominican University of Santo Tomás. This Catholic background was not quite effaced in the anti-clerical circles in which Rizal moved during his European sojourn, and doubtless explains the essentially conservative cast of his liberalism.

He attacked the abuses, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the moribund Spanish colonial system and proposed a long-term program of progressive reforms which would eventually fit the Philippines for independent nationhood; but he firmly and consistently opposed attaining these ends by violent action. Unfortunately for him personally, his name and reputation were used to further radical anti-Spanish propaganda. The colonial government, with more than its usual obtuseness, failed to distinguish between what Rizal really stood for and what he was made to stand for.

Nationalist movements, however, are not killed by bullets, as the recent history of Southeast Asia bears out. A Filipino poet summed up the tragedy of Rizal when he said that a bullet shattered his brain but his thoughts shattered an empire.

Dr. Palma's biography, written in 1936, adds little that is new to the researches of W. E. Retana, Austin Craig and Gonzalo Ma Piñana. Justice Ozaeta's version, though adequate, is marred by awkward transliterations such as "commune" for "receive Holy Communion." The early chapters of

Rizal's formative years are interesting and instructive, but the two chapters which deal with the problem of Rizal's reconciliation with the Catholic Church on the eve of his execution show a definite anti-clerical bias and lack of critical judgment.

An attempt is made to show, by presumption and circumstantial evidence, that the conversion which eyewitnesses and an autograph profession of faith, still extant, prove to have taken place, never did occur. Such methods are hardly commendable in a book intended for use in public schools.

H. DE LA COSTA, S.J.

Comprehensive history

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

By Pierre Janelle. Bruce. 397p. \$4.50.

This volume supplies a need long felt for an adequate treatment of one of the truly important movements in modern European history—the Catholic reformation of the sixteenth century. Until its appearance, English-reading students had to rely on brief treatments appended to histories of the Protestant Revolt, or they had to piece together the story of the Catholic reformation from various articles on the Council of Trent, the Jesuits, the Ursulines and so on.

Pierre Janelle could have treated the Catholic reformation in either of the two generally accepted ways. In the first place, he could have handled it as a period of time—from about 1555 to 1610—in which the reform of the Church was the dominant note, but in which he would have described political, social and economic developments. (This is the approach Father Robert H. Lord will use in his projected volume on this subject in the "Rise of Modern Europe Series.") Or he could have dealt exclusively with the reformed papacy, the Council of Trent, and the work of the various religious orders in re-establishing a vigorous Church in Europe. Fortunately, the author followed neither of these established patterns. For that reason his volume is especially welcome.

In the first part of *The Catholic Reformation* Dr. Janelle describes the "diseases within the Church," the chief of which, he holds, was the administrative anarchy from which the disciplinary and doctrinal confusion of pre-Tridentine days flowed. Two chapters are devoted to early but futile attempts at reform. Chapters on the Council of Trent and the religious revival among the clergy follow. They are rather brief and present little in the way of new information. The next four chapters, however, are a real contribution to historical information in the English language. In them Dr. Janelle shows how

the Catholic Reformation affected education and literature, art and mysticism, both within the Church and in the general framework of European civilization. Later chapters deal with the movement in France and the British Isles. The latter subject has never been handled adequately—so far as the reviewer knows—in any language. There is a final chapter on the missions, which are treated as an integral part of the general reform movement.

The Catholic Reformation is a sound treatment of a controversial subject. The author exhibits the care of a scholar and the enthusiasm of a teacher in presenting his material. He does not try to gloss over Catholic culpability. He seeks only to explain it, and his explanation is one of the most satisfactory now in print. In his loyalty to the papacy, however, Dr. Janelle tends to be a little too severe on the secular rulers of the age, especially on Emperor Charles V. Some will object, too, that he betrays a bias in favor of the Society of Jesus as against the other clergy. But it is hard to study this period of history without developing a partiality towards the Jesuits for their outstanding work in effecting reform in the Church.

It will be generally acknowledged in the years to come that Dr. Janelle has made a distinct contribution to his-

torical knowledge in showing how the Catholic reformation worked out a synthesis between the classical learning of the Renaissance and medieval mysticism and piety, and especially in his revealing the contributions made by this movement toward the secular culture of Western Europe in the latter sixteenth century and thereafter. To do this, the author had to treat the educational and cultural aspects of the Catholic reformation, aspects which had previously been slighted by historians.

The American reader will likely wish that Dr. Janelle had enlarged his work about a hundred pages in order to describe the political, economic, social and revolutionary religious setting in which the Catholic reformation occurred. If a book written for Americans is to show the movement in its proper perspective, the author must devote some pages to the Protestant Revolt going on at the time, to the disturbing but sincere activity of Philip II, to the religious wars in France and to other such happenings.

Unfortunately, the bibliography consists mostly of French titles, with a goodly number of German and almost nothing in English. The publisher could make Dr. Janelle's book more useful by adding titles from American periodicals to the bibliography of any future edition. THOMAS P. NEILL

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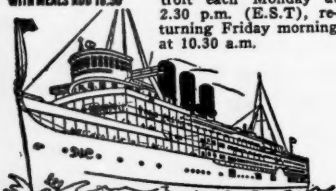
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DICKENS: HIS CHARACTER, COMEDY AND CAREER

By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. 361p. \$4
Stracheyism, which is the hallmark of Pearson's biographic style, is evident here but, on the whole, this volume is not one of his happier efforts. Mr. Pearson's earlier studies of Sydney Smith, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw were written with a sustained gusto and half-impudent sparkle that is easily explicable. For Smith, Wilde and GBS were, in more ways than one, fellows. Each was devastatingly witty; each had an extreme flair for self-dramatization. Perhaps more significantly, each was a spokesman for the brittle and iconoclastic cynicism so dear to our time.

Dickens the man, to be sure, was a contradiction of Dickens the literary creator. The private Dickens was an egotist whose genius alone raised him above the *poseur*. It was this Dickens who, in middle age, put away his wife, the mother of his ten children, to indulge in the liaison with Ellen Ternan. Only that much overworked term, the "Victorian compromise," can bridge the gap between the aging gallant and the novelist of family life. But for the amateur as well as the professional student of letters it is the latter who remains significant, and it is the latter who is apt to be overlooked in Pearson's study.

Yet this book is immensely readable. The deflation of John Forster, Dickens' official biographer, is accomplished with gay malice. The comments on Wilkie Collins are enlightening. The description of the restless energy which drove Dickens through an uninterrupted series of novels, hundreds of dramatic readings, two journeys to America and numerous trips to the continent, is vivid and convincing.

The function of literary biography, however, it may be argued, is not merely to entertain but to illumine. Whether there is much illumination in this work seems debatable. Waiving the pompous Forster, who wrote biography in the style Froude was to explode, the reader may well find Chesterton and Una Pope-Hennessy sounder approaches to Dickens the man and the writer.

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

YOUNG WILLIAM WASHBOURNE

By Humphrey Pakington. Norton. 274p. \$3.

Shades of Jane Austen and George Meredith! The social comedies of manners of "the divine Jane" come to mind in this madcap merry-go-round of a marrying male, and while Mrs. Smaley is a bit more vulgar, than, say, Mrs. Bennett, she is unmistakably related to

that lady of happy memory. The "wizard of Box Hill" is dimly perceived here also, not in the intellectual drive of his social therapy—for *Young William Washbourne* is definitely afternoon tea—but in a gently ironic yet sympathetic exposure of the foibles of human beings. There is something vaguely Meredithian in Mrs. White-Wright, for instance, or Mrs. Wilkins, who, in the best Meredithian manner, would compare with the Pole sisters, or even Mrs. Mountstuart Jenkinson.

Young William's story begins in 1901 when he joins the Royal Navy, and ends on November 11, 1918, about a year after he has finally succeeded in marrying. His life is complicated considerably by his cousin Fitzhenry who, being two years older and six inches taller than William, always gets what he wants. William's marital manoeuvres, with which the book is entirely concerned, are at the mercy of a clique of predatory females; but nothing daunted, he manages to isolate his target. Objective taken.

Perhaps the pattern of the society which Mr. Pakington describes and dissects is gone forever, but the human traits which he laughingly exposes are external and so dear to our hearts that there are all kinds of people in this highly entertaining book that you will love and chuckle over, and perhaps secretly identify. The book is a welcome relief from neuroses and psychoses, from clinical analyses and sociological diatribes. It does that rare thing that a novel was originally intended to do: it entertains. What more do you want on a sultry July day?

FORTUNATA CALIRI

From the Editor's shelves

SOUTHEAST ASIA: CROSSROADS OF RELIGION, by Kenneth P. Landon (University of Chicago Press. \$4). Exceptionally competent is this study of religion and tradition in Southeast Asia in general and Indonesia and Siam in particular, finds reviewer *Theresa Wolf*. Mr. Landon spent eleven years in the missionary field, more recently served with the State Department's Division of Southeast Asia Affairs. His thesis is that the intimately religious daily life of the Asiatic rather adapts exogenous cults than yields to them.

SCOTLAND YARD, by Richard Harrison (Ziff-Davis, \$2.75). Two-dozen-odd real-life cases of robbery, murder and other crimes make fascinating passages for the general reader of this volume, but even the lawyer, administrator and police officer will find it documentary enough to be of value, says reviewer *Joseph Huttlinger*. The policies and practices of Scotland Yard are reportedly drawn from certain records never before opened to outsiders.

THE WORD

I REMEMBER MOTHER TRYING—and apparently failing—to make me understand.

Perhaps she succeeded better than she knew, because I find myself trying to make my children understand.

And I comfort myself, when my efforts seem wasted, with the thought that almost all the human race has found the lesson exceedingly difficult.

Even Adam and Eve, with God Himself for teacher, were slow to learn.

And yet it is the one really elementary and indispensable lesson of life.

"Mother," I used to say, "why can't we have a brand-new automobile like the Joneses?" (Or the Smiths or Browns, as the case might be.)

It wasn't that I was ashamed of my father's outmoded, second-hand, one-cylinder horseless carriage, which had no roof and no doors and was steered by a handle rather than a wheel.

On the contrary, I secretly thought it wonderful, and admired my father's marvelous mastery of it—particularly his skill and strength in spinning the crank to start the crabbed, chugging motor, and the dexterity with which he steered backward up hills, because when he tried a steep grade forward, the gasoline wouldn't run to the engine from the tank in the rear.

I thought the old car wonderful, and I knew that Father had paid \$50 for it, which to me—and to him, for that matter—was an enormous sum. But I was embarrassed by the taunts of the other boys, whose fathers dashed around in shining, roaring eight-cylinder machines.

"Why can't we have one?" I would ask my mother.

And she would put her hand on my head and say, "Joseph, Joseph, let those poor people have their toys. We've got something worth infinitely more. We've got our faith. You mustn't expect God to give you everything."

I didn't understand; not then.

And I cannot blame my children if sometimes they—like me, like Adam and Eve, like all of us—are slow to comprehend.

And yet it ought to be so very plain:

"Brethren, all we who are baptized in Christ Jesus are baptized in His death. For we are buried together with Him by baptism unto death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall also be in the likeness of His resurrection. . . ."

JOSEPH A. BREIG

FILMS

LOST BOUNDARIES is the second recent film to deal with some aspect of anti-Negro prejudice. In no sense a preachment, this is rather the deeply moving story of an exemplary American family and how they coped with a heart-breakingly difficult problem. It has a wholesome, constructive, genuinely Christian point of view which recommends it to the entire family. The source of the picture is William L. White's factual account, printed in the *Reader's Digest* a few years ago, of a doctor and his wife who lived as respected members of a New England community for twenty years before the rejection of the man's application for a Naval commission revealed the fact that they were part Negro. The revelation brought them and their children, unaware of their ancestry, into violent contact with the weakest link in American democracy. In the interests of simplicity and cohesion, the movie version has taken some liberties with the story. The result is an occasional tendency toward glibness and oversimplification. For the most part, however, producer Louis de Rochemont has constructed a richly human document which speaks eloquently for itself. In this enterprise he has had the invaluable assistance of the semi-documentary technique of which he was the pioneer, and of a splendid cast whose faces are unfamiliar to movie audiences. Mel Ferrer as the doctor and Rev. Robert H. Dunn as a minister whose heart and intelligence were both equal to the task of aiding the distressed family are particularly outstanding. (*Film Classics*)

THE FOUNTAINHEAD is so bad in a great big, pretentious, pseudo-significant way that it has to be seen to be believed. This, however, is not to be interpreted as a sign that I recommend that drastic course of action. It is the story of an architect (Gary Cooper) of limitless genius and unswerving integrity who apparently is a symbol of individual freedom. He is arrayed in single combat against an assortment of power-hungry men who hate integrity and genius because they want to own (and mostly succeed in owning) their fellow men, body and soul. Naturally our hero has a very rough time of it, but he finally wins through to victory. The picture has been widely heralded as an anti-totalitarian document. The trouble is (if you can take the movie seriously enough to care) that author Ayn Rand's ideal of freedom—involving a few semantic distortions of her



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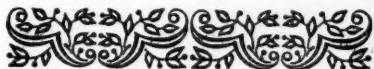
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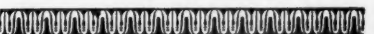
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own—is just as un-Christian as communism. Aside from this, being compounded mostly of long, windy speeches delivered by an embarrassed but competent cast (Raymond Massey, Patricia Neal, Robert Douglas etc.), the film bears only the remotest resemblance to human behavior and is dramatically, morally, politically and symbolically indefensible. (Warner Bros.)

IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMERTIME Moviegoers of ten years standing will remember *The Shop Around The Corner*, a tender little romantic drama about two sales people in a Viennese music store who enlivened their workaday chores by cultivating a full-blown mutual antagonism, and were a long time discovering that they were at the same time the two principals in an anonymous courtship by mail. MGM has now transported the story to Chicago at the turn of the century, added a few nostalgic songs, and cast Judy Garland and Van Johnson in the leading roles. The result is the sort of technically excellent and visually attractive Technicolor musical which is traditionally the backbone of summertime family entertainment. And though it does not completely escape the traditional sag in the middle, it has an unpretentious felicity and a three-dimensional quality which are deserving of an extra boost. (MGM)

MOIRA WALSH

PARADE

IF TELEVISION HAD BEEN KNOWN in ancient Rome:

SCENE: Home of Livia, a wealthy Roman widow. Livia, an invalid, is propped up on a couch. Two slave girls, Sosia and Pamphilla, attend her. Sosia: My lady, do you recall my speaking of the Apostle Peter and how he preached about the Lord Jesus Christ?

Livia: Yes, I do. The idea that this Jesus might be a new god was quite interesting.

Sosia: My lady, many of us have feared the preaching of Peter might be lost to posterity. So we've urged his disciple, Mark, to put down in writing what Peter has preached.

Livia: Seems like a sensible idea, Sosia.

Sosia: My lady, Mark has done this. Today, over on Vatican Hill, he will read his new gospel for the first time. Livia: I see what you are hinting at, Sosia. All right, you may go over to Vatican Hill. Pamphilla will attend to me while you are away.

Sosia (bowing): Thank you, my lady. (Sosia leaves.)

(Livia reads for a while, then drops off into a siesta.)

Livia (opening her eyes after a while): Pamphilla, am I too late for the TV program, *City Scenes*?

Pamphilla: I think, my lady has missed but a part of the program. (Turns on the television set. On the screen appears a temple, with high, artistically decorated portals.)

Livia: This must be the temple of Janus on the Janiculum Hill. (TV announcer stops a man coming out of the temple.)

Announcer: Friends, this is the illustrious Festus, newly appointed Governor of Syria. He has just invoked the great god Janus before departing for his new post. (Festus is seen waving to the TV audience; then he walks away.)

Announcer: Friends, we will now go over to Vatican Hill. (Roman street crowds flash across the screen.)

Livia: This is Vatican Hill now?

Pamphilla: Yes. Look, the announcer is speaking to someone. (Announcer is observed addressing a young Roman.)

Announcer: Anything interesting?

Young man: Some kind of meeting is just starting in there. (Points to lodging house.)

Announcer: Friends, there seems to be nothing else, so let us go in and see what this meeting is.

(A few seconds later the screen mirrors a large room filled with men and women. An elderly man stands up.

Livia: I'll wager that is the Apostle Peter that Sosia speaks of.

Elderly man (addressing group): My friends, your ears will be the first to hear the Gospel of Mark. But from now until the end of time the ears of the world will be ceaselessly hearing this same gospel. Proceed, Mark.

Mark: (starts reading from his manuscript): The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. As it is written in Isaiah the Prophet: Behold, I send my angel before Thy face, who shall prepare the way before Thee.

... (The meeting suddenly fades from the TV screen; then the street outside the lodging house appears.)

Announcer: Friends, I felt that meeting would not be interesting to you, so I dropped it. Let us move farther along.

Livia: (impatiently): Turn the set off, Pamphilla. That meeting was interesting. He should have stayed with it.

Pamphilla: I must ask Sosia to tell me more about this Jesus Christ.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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